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CINCPAC FOR POLAD

SUBJ: LOWER HOUSE ELECTION: PRE-ELECTION ANALYSIS AND RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

REF: A. SAIGON 13469; B. SAIGON 13190

1. SUMMARY: IN THE AUGUST 29 LOWER HOUSE ELECTION, CLOSE TO 1300 CANDIDATES ARE RUNNING FOR 159 SEATS WITH A TOTAL ELECTORATE OF OVER 7 MILLION. THE OFFICIAL CAMPAIGN PERIOD (AUG 14-28) HAS BROUGHT FORTH FEW ISSUES EXCEPT SUPPORT FOR OR OPPOSITION TO THE GOVERNMENT AND GENERAL EXPRESSIONS OF DESIRE FOR PEACE AND SOCIAL JUSTICE. THE GOVERNMENT APPEARS TO BE ACTIVELY SUPPORTING CANDIDATES IN MOST RACES, AND IN SOME IS INDULGING IN UNFAIR PRACTICES, SUCH AS INTIMIDATION OF OPPONENTS OR TRANSFER OF OFFICIALS. CANDIDATES OF VARIOUS PERSUASIONS ARE SPENDING LARGE SUMS. SOME OPPOSITION CANDIDATES ARE NOW THREATENING WITHDRAWAL OVER ALLEGED HARASSMENT BY THE ADMINISTRATION, ALTHOUGH LARGE SCALE BOYCOTTS BY THE OPPOSITION APPEARS DOUBTFUL.

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2. THE NEW LOWER PROBABLY WILL HAVE A LARGE MAJORITY FOR THE GOVERNMENT, WITH RELIGIOUS AND REGIONAL BALANCE ABOUT THE SAME AS THE PREVIOUS LOWER HOUSE. ORGANIZED POLITICAL PARTIES AND FACTIONS SHOULD INCREASE THEIR REPRESENTATION, ALTHOUGH THE OPPOSITION AN QUANG BUDDHISTS, OWING MAINLY TO INTERNAL DIVISIONS, MAY NOT DO AS WELL AS EXPECTED.

3. IN A MAJORITY OF CONSTITUENCIES IT LOOKS AS IF THE ELECTION WILL BE REASONABLY FAIR BY VIETNAMESE STANDARDS, BUT EVIDENCE OF HEAVY HANDED TACTICS BY THE GOVERNMENT IN SOME CASES IS ENOUGH ALREADY TO SUBSTANTIATE CHARGES OF FRAUD BY THE OPPOSITION. END SUMMARY.

4. BACKGROUND. THE VICE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR ANNOUNCED AUGUST 29 THAT WITHDRAWALS HAVE BROUGHT THE TOTAL NUMBER OF CANDIDATES DOWN TO 1,297 FROM THE 1,332 THAT REMAINED AT SECOND POSTING AUGUST 9. SINCE THERE ARE 159 SEATS, THIS MEANS ABOUT 8 CANDIDATES PER SEAT. (THIS WITHDRAWAL PROCESS IS NORMAL, AS CERTAIN CANDIDATES BECOME DISCOURAGED AND SOME WITHDRAW IN FAVOR OF OTHERS. FURTHER WITHDRAWALS CAN BE EXPECTED RIGHT UP TO ELECTION DAY. ALSO NOTE ADDITIONAL COMMENTS ON WITHDRAWALS BELOW.) THE VICE MINISTER SAID THE TOTAL NUMBER OF VOTERS AT THE SECOND POSTING OF VOTER LISTS WAS 7,085,943, AND INCREASE OF 1,232,559 OVER THE PREVIOUS LOWER HOUSE ELECTION IN 1967.

5. THE BASIC CONSTITUENCY FOR THE ELECTION IS THE PROVINCE (44) OR CITY (11), ALTHOUGH BECAUSE OF THEIR SIZE, SAIGON AND GIA DINH ARE BROKEN UP INTO THREE AND TWO CONSTITUENCIES RESPECTIVELY, MAKING A TOTAL OF 58 CONSTITUENCIES IN ALL. EACH CONSTITUENCY HAS FROM ONE TO SIX SEATS DEPENDING ON POPULATION. THERE ARE ALSO 16 SEATS IN CERTAIN PROVINCES SET ASIDE FOR ETHNIC MINORITIES (CAMBODIANS, MONTAGNARDS, CHAMS).

6. IN 1967 OVER HALF OF THE WINNERS WON WITH LESS THAN 20 PERCENT OF THE VOTE, AND A MAJORITY OF THE DEPUTIES ELECTED IN SAIGON AND GIA DINH WON WITH LESS THAN 10 PERCENT OF THE VALID BALLOTS CAST. THIS SITUATION REFLECTS THE POLITICAL FRAGMENTATION IN SOUTH VIETNAM, AND ENCOURAGES LARGE NUMBERS OF CANDIDATES. IN SAIGON 173 CANDIDATES ARE RUNNING FOR 13 SEATS, AND IN GIA DINH PROVINCE (THE OUTSKIRTS OF SAIGON)

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154 CANDIDATES ARE BYING FOR 11 SEATS.

7. ELECTION CAMPAIGNING. THE OFFICIAL CAMPAIGN LASTS FROM AUGUST 14 TO NOON AUGUST 28, AND OVERT CAMPAIGNING IS LIMITED TO CERTAIN SPECIFIED MEANS (POSTERS, LEAFLETS, TELEVISION, RADIO, SOUND TRUCKS) WHICH MUST BE AVAILABLE EQUALLY TO ALL CANDIDATES. A COMMITTEE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF CANDIDATES IN EACH CONSTITUENCY DECIDES WHAT MEANS WILL BE USED AND HOW THEY WILL BE EQUALLY DIVIDED. POSTERS ARE VERY PROMINENT IN SAIGON AND IN SOME CITIES AND PROVINCES. IN SAIGON, EACH OF THE OVER 170 CANDIDATES IS APPEARING FOR THREE MINUTES ON TELEVISION. IN THE PROVINCES, JOINT PUBLIC MEETINGS HAVE GENERALLY BEEN ARRANGED. PRIVATE CONTACT WITH LOCAL OFFICIALS, RELIGIOUS LEADERS AND NOTABLES IS GENERALLY CONSIDERED THE MOST IMPORTANT TYPE OF CAMPAIGNING, AND THIS SORT OF ACTIVITY HAS ALREADY BEEN GOING ON FOR MONTHS.

8. POPULAR INTEREST IN THE LOWER HOUSE ELECTION HAS BEEN IN PART DISTRACTED BY PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION DEVELOPMENTS. THE CAMPAIGN DOES NOT SEEM TO HAVE DEVELOPED ANY CLEAR-CUT ISSUES EXCEPT SUPPORT FOR, OR OPPOSITION TO, THE GOVERNMENT. PRO-GOVERNMENT CANDIDATES TEND TO EMPHASIZE THE NEED FOR PEACE TO BE A JUST PEACE WITHOUT COMMUNIST DOMINATION, WHEREAS OPPOSITION CANDIDATES TEND TO STRESS THE NEED FOR PEACE WITHOUT QUALIFICATION. OPPOSITION CANDIDATES ALSO OPPOSE "FOREIGN (I.E. U.S.) INFLUENCE." OTHERWISE, PLATFORMS ARE GENERALLY VAGUE DECLARATIONS OF SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRACY AND SOCIAL JUSTICE. IN SAIGON'S FIRST CONSTITUENCY VO VAN HAI, FORMER PRIVATE SECRETARY TO PRESIDENT DIEM, IS FEATURING A PICTURE OF DIEM ON HIS POSTERS AND APPEALING FOR A RETURN TO THE SPIRIT OF DIEM, APPARENTLY HOPING THAT ENOUGH VOTERS WILL RECALL THE "GOOD OLD" DAYS OF THE DIEM REGIME WITH NOSTALGIA TO BRING HIM VICTORY IN THE FRAGMENTED SAIGON RACE.

9. GOVERNMENT ROLE IN THE ELECTION. THE MOST PROMINENT ASPECTS OF THE CAMPAIGN ARE GOVERNMENT SUPPORT FOR FAVORED CANDIDATES AND THE REACTION OF OTHER CANDIDATES THERETO. THE GOVERNMENT IS APPARENTLY SUPPORTING AT LEAST 75 CANDIDATES IN 33 CONSTITUENCIES, AND PROBABLY CONSIDERABLY MORE. 59 OF THE 75 WE HAVE IDENTIFIED ARE CONSIDERED PROBABLE WINNERS. THE DEGREE OF SUCCESS OF THE OTHER 16 WILL PROVIDE ONE BASIS FOR JUDGING THE FAIRNESS OF THE ELECTION.

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10. THE EXTENT OF GOVERNMENT SUPPORT AND METHODS USED VARY WIDELY. IN MOST CONSTITUENCIES IT APPEARS MERELY TO BE WORD PASSED TO GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS, MILITARY COMMANDERS AND OTHER OPINION LEADERS THAT CERTAIN PERSONS ARE FAVORED CANDIDATES.

11. FOLLOWING ARE THE MOST FLAGRANT CASES OF GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION FOUND IN INFORMATION AVAILABLE TO US: IN BA XUYEN POLICE OFFICIALS WERE INSTRUCTED TO SUPPORT CERTAIN CANDIDATES, DISTRICT CHIEFS WERE INSTRUCTED TO RESTRICT OR GIVE LEAVE TO ANY MILITARY OR CIVILIAN UNDER THEIR CONTROL WHO CAMPAIGNED FOR ANYONE OTHER THAN THE GOVERNMENT-APPROVED CANDIDATES, AND THE PROVINCE CHIEF PERSONALLY INTRODUCED THE GOVERNMENT CANDIDATES AT DISTRICT-LEVEL MEETINGS OF OFFICIALS. IN BAC LIEU A MEETING AT THE PROVINCE MEETING HALL AUGUST 17 FOR CANDIDATES TO SPEAK TO VOTERS WAS ORDERLY UNTIL OPPOSITION DEPUTY DUONG VAN BA ROSE TO SPEAK, WHEN A GROUP OF SOLDIERS IN CIVILIAN CLOTHES STARTED A BRAWL WITH BA SUPPORTERS. THE DEPUTY PROVINCE CHIEF AND POLICE CHIEF WERE PRESENT BUT TOOK LITTLE ACTION TO RESTORE ORDER. ONE 18-YEAR OLD WORKER FOR BA WAS STABBED AND BEATEN AND LATER DIED. IN BINH THUAN SEVERAL AN QUANG-SUPPORTED CANDIDATES WERE BEATEN UP, ALTHOUGH RESPONSIBILITY FOR THIS IS NOT CLEAR.

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IN GO CONG THE PROVINCE CHIEF REPORTEDLY IS USING THE GOVERNMENT APPARATUS INTENSIVELY AND HAS THREATENED FARMERS THAT THEY WILL BE ARRESTED AS VC IF THEY DO NOT COOPERATE. IN LONG AN VILLAGE CHIEFS HAVE BEEN ORDERED TO SUPPORT A GOVERNMENT CANDIDATE AT THE RISK OF LOSING THEIR JOBS. IN PHU BON THE PROVINCE CHIEF HAS REMOVED SEVERAL LOCAL OFFICIALS WHO WOULD NOT COOPERATE. IN QUANG NHAI LOCAL CADRE HABE BEEN INSTRUCTED TO USE ALL MEANS OF PERSUASION, INCLUDING THREATS, TO KEEP VOTERS FROM CASTING BALLOTS FOR ANTI-ADMINISTRATION CANDIDATES. IN TUYEN DUC, OFFICIALS WHO WORK FOR ANYONE OTHER THAN GOVERNMENT-SUPPORTED CANDIDATES HAVE BEEN TOLD IF THEY DO NOT STOP THEY WILL BE FIRED OR TRANSFERRED TO A LESS DESIRABLE LOCATION. ESPECIALLY NOTABLE IS THE CASE OF BINH DINH, WHERE THE PROVINCE AUTHORITIES ARE LABORING HARD TO DEFEAT STRIDENT OPPOSITIONIST NGO CONG DUC, AND HAVE, FOR INSTANCE, TRANSFERRED OFFICIALS SUPPORTING HIM (REF A).

12. RELIABLE EVIDENCE OF UNFAIR PRACTICES BY THE ADMINISTRATION HAS BEEN MOUNTING IN RECENT DAYS. ALTHOUGH THE GOVERNMENT STILL SEEMS TO BE REASONABLY DISCREET IN MOST CONSTITUENCIES, THERE IS ALREADY ENOUGH EVIDENCE OF HEAVY-HANDED ACTION SERIOUSLY TO COMPROMISE THE ELECTION IN SOME AREAS.

13. ON THE POSITIVE SIDE, AUGUST 24 A MILITARY COURT FREED SAIGON LOWER HOUSE CANDIDATE AND OPPOSITIONIST STUDENT LEADER NGUYEN XUAN LAP, WHO HAS BEEN UNDER ARREST SINCE AUGUST 1. ALSO, IN KIEN PHONG, WHERE THE CANDIDACY OF THE PROVINCE CHIEF'S YOUNGER BROTHER HAD DRAWN MUCH UNFAVORABLE COMMENT (REF B), THE BROTHER HAS NOW WITHDRAWN.

14. THE GOVERNMENT IS BEING CRITICIZED FOR SUPPORTING A NUMBER OF DISHONEST OR WEAK INCUMBENTS FOR REELECTION. PERHAPS THE MOST UNFORTUNATE GOVERNMENT CHOICE IS DEPUTY NGUYEN QUANG LUYEN, WHO WAS CAUGHT SEVERAL MONTHS AGO IN BANGKOK TRYING TO SMUGGLE GOLD TO SAIGON. LUYEN WAS NOT PROSECUTED, SINCE HE HAD COMMITTED NO CRIME WITHIN SOUTH VIETNAM. PREVIOUSLY A DEPUTY FROM GIA DINH, HE IS NOW RUNNING WITH OVERT GOVERNMENT SUPPORT IN THE "ROTTEN BOROUGH" PROVINCE OF BINH LONG, WHERE A SMALL POPULATION INCLUDING MANY MONTAGNARDS MEANS THAT THE SUPPORT OF THE PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION IS PROBABLY DECISIVE. PRIOR TO LUYEN'S ENTRY IT WAS ASSUMED THAT GOVERNMENT SUPPORT WOULD GO TO DOAN VAN BIAE, CHAIRMAN OF THE PROVINCE

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COUNCIL AND LONG-TIME GVT (PRO-GOVERNMENT) LABOR LEADER IN THE PROVINCE.

15. ANOTHER UNFORTUNATE CHOICE IS INCUMBENT LOWER HOUSE CHAIRMAN NGUYEN BA LUONG, RUNNING IN A SIMILARLY CONTROLLABLE PROVINCE, PHUOC LONG (REF A). THE LOW REPUTATION OF THE PRESENT HOUSE IS DUE IN LARGE PART TO THE FACT THAT LUONG, CHAIRMAN THROUGHOUT ITS FOUR YEARS, WAS NOTED FOR HIS INABILITY TO GIVE THE HOUSE FIRM DIRECTION AND HIS SUBSERVIENCE TO EXECUTIVE WISHES. GOVERNMENT SUPPORT FOR HIS REELECTION IS BEING INTERPRETED AS MEANING THAT THE EXECUTIVE WISHES LUONG TO CONTINUE AS CHAIRMAN, WHICH WOULD MAKE IT DIFFICULT FOR THE NEW HOUSE TO RAISE ITSELF ABOVE THE LEVEL OF ITS PREDECESSOR.

16. IN GENERAL TO INCUMBENTS SUPPORTED BY THE EXECTIVE ARE UNDISTINGUISHED, AND LOYALTY SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN THE MOST IMPORTANT TEST. ONE EXCEPTION IS ALLE NGUYEN BA CAN, RUNNING FOR REELECTION IN BINH TUONG.

17. MONEY FLOWS. THERE ARE WIDESPREAD REPORTS OF HEAVY SPENDING TO GAIN SUPPORT, USUALLY IN THE FORM OF PAYMENTS TO DISTRICT, VILLAGE AND HAMLET OFFICIALS. USE OF MONEY SEEMS TO DEPEND MOSTLY ON THE WEALTH OF THE CANDIDATE, AND IS FOUND AMONG BOTH GOVERNMENT AND NON-GOVERNMENT CANDIDATES. A FEW EXAMPLES: MILLIONAIRE BUSINESSMAN LE VAN THA IN QUI NHON, WHO IS BACKED BY THE AN QUANG BUDDHISTS; MRS. NGUYEN THI HAI IN LONG AN, A WEALTHY BUSINESSWOMAN CLOSE TO MRS. THIEU AND BACKED BY THE GOVERNMENT; INCUMBENT DEPUTY NGUYEN VAN LE IN GO CONG, WHO HAS BEEN SPENDING HEAVILY TO OFFSET GOVERNMENT SUPPORT OF CANDIDATE PHAM THANH NGOC (THE MOST RECENT REPORT INDICATES THE GOVERNMENT MAY HAVE SHIFTED TO SUPPORTING LE).

18. THREATS OF WITHDRAWAL. A NUMBER OF OPPOSITION OR NON-GOVERNMENT CANDIDATES HAVE BEEN THREATENING TO WITHDRAW BECAUSE OF REAL OR ALLEGED RIGGING OF THE ELECTION, AS REPORTED REF A. NGUYEN KIEN GIANG, PUBLISHER OF THE SOUTHERN-ORIENTED, ANTI-THIEU DAILY THOI DAI MOI, WITHDREW FROM THE RACE IN SAIGON'S FIRST CONSTITUENCY AUGUST 2, CHARGING THE GOVERNMENT WITH SUPPORTING "BOOTLICKERS AND SMUGGLERS" FROM THE PREVIOUS ASSEMBLY AND WITH OPENLY HARASSING THE ELECTION CAMPAIGNS OF A NUMBER OF OPPOSITION CANDIDATES LINKED WITH GENERAL MINH. SO FAR THIS POLITICALLY MOTIVATED WITHDRAWAL OF GIANG,

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A MEMBER OF THE SAIGON CITY COUNCIL, HAS NOT BEEN FOLLOWED BY OTHERS. HOWEVER, THERE IS CONSIDERABLE TALK IN OPPOSITION CIRCLES ABOUT LARGE-SCALE WITHDRAWALS.

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R 271145Z AUG 71
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THE SIGNIFICANCE OF SUCH A MOVE WOULD DEPEND LARGELY ON WHETHER THOSE WITHDRAWING WERE ALSO-RANS OR SERIOUS CANDIDATES WITH A CHANCE TO WIN.

19. RELATIONSHIP TO PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION. THE LOWER HOUSE ELECTION WAS EARLIER LOOKED TO AS A HARBINGER OF THE RESULTS OF THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION. EVEN WITH THE RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE PRESIDENTIAL RACE THE VOTE TOTALSOTALS FOR PROMINENT PRO-GOVERNMENT AND OPPOSITION CANDIDATES IN THE LH ELECTION WILL BE CAREFULLY READ FOR WHAT THEY MIGHT INDICATE ABOUT POPULAR SUPPORT FOR PRESIDENT THIEU.

20. COMPOSITION OF NEW LOWER HOUSE. TAKING THE INFORMATION AVAILABLE FOR EACH CONSTITUENCY, LIKELY WINNERS APPEAR TO BE 97 PRO-GOVERNMENT AND 48 OPPOSITION DEPUTIES, WITH 14 INDEPENDENT OR UNKNOWN. THIS TENTATIVE ESTIMATE WOULD PUT THE PRO-GOVERNMENT MAJORITY AT CLOSE TO TWO-THIRDS (106).

TWELVE PROBABLE WINNERS BELINGING TO THE FORMALLY OPPOSITIONIST PROGRESSIVE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT HAVE BEEN LISTED HEREIN WITH THE OPPOSITION, ALTHOUGH SOME PNM CANDIDATES (IN RACH GIA CITY,

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KIEN GIANG AND VINH LONG) ARE RECEIVING GOVERNMENT SUPPORT.

21. POLITICAL PARTIES AND FACTIONS ARE TAKING A STRONG INTEREST IN THE ELECTION AND RUNNING MANY CANDIDATES. THEY WILL THUS PROBABLY HAVE STRONGER REPRESENTATION IN THE NEW HOUSE. POLITICAL AFFILIATIONS OF SOME 82 OF THE LIKELY WINNERS ARE AS FOLLOWS: AN QUANG BUDDHISTS 19, PNM 12, WORKER-FARMER PARTY 12, REVOLUTIONARY DAI VIET PARTY 10, HOA HAO (PRO-GOVERNMENT LUONG TRONG TUONG FACTION) 10, NHAN XA 6, MOVEMENT FOR THE RENAISSANCE OF THE SOUTH 6, VIETNAMESE NATIONALIST PAGHY (VU HONG KHA N FACTION) 4, FETNAMESE NATIONALIST PARTY (UNIVIED FACTION) 4; THE FOLLOWING PARTIES ONE EACH: FREE DEMOCRATIC FORCE, NEW SOCIETY MOVEMENT (INCUMBENT LOWER HOUSE CHAIRMAN NGUYEN BA LUONG), VIETNAMESE NATIONALIST PARTY (SOUTHERN FACTION), GREATER SOLIDARTIY FORCE, AND REPUBLICAN MASSES PARTY.

22. THE AN QUANG BUDDHISTS ARE SPLIT OR HAVE TOO MANY CANDIDATES IN SEVERAL CONSTITUENCIES (THUA THIEN, DANANG CITY, QUANG NGAI, QUANG TRI) THUS OPENING THE WAY FOR OTHER PARTIES TO TAKE SEATS WHICH THE BUDDHISTS COULD WIN IF UNIFIED. AN QUANG COULD EASILY DO BETTER THAN OUR ANALYSIS WOULD INDICATE, BUT IT WOULD TAKE A BREAKTHROUGH FOR THEM TO ATTAIN OVER 30 SEATS. THE STRENGTH OF PARTY LOYALTY FOR SOME OF THE WORKER-FARMER PARTY LIKELY WINNERS IS OPEN TO QUESTION (REF B). PARTY LABELS ARE USUALLY NOT WORN OPENLY DURING CAMPAIGNING, AND AN ADDITIONAL NUMBER OF WINNERS ARE PROBABLY ALREADY ASSOCIATED WITH SOME PARTY, UNKNOWN TO US. THIS IS ESPECIALLY TRUE OF THE CATHOLIC PARTIES, WHO ARE LIKELY TO DO BETTER THAN THIS ANALYSIS WOULD INDICATE.

23. A BREAKDOWN OF THE PROBABLE WINNERS ACCORDING TO RELIGION WHERE KNOWN IS: BUDDHIST 46, CATHOLIC 24, HOA HAO 12, CAO DAI 5, ANCESTOR WORSHIP 5, ANIMIST 2. THIS IS SIMILAR TO THE PRESENT HOUSE, WHERE BUDDHISTS ARE ABOUT TWICE THE NUMBER OF CATHOLICS. THUS IT APPEARS THE CATHOLICS WILL CONTINUE TO HAVE HIGHER REPRESENTATION IN THE LOWER HOUSE THAN IN THE POPULATION AS A WHOLE, RESULTING FROM THEIR GREATER ENERGY, EDUCATION AND ORGANIZATION. IN THE PRESENT HOUSE THE SOMEHWAT MORE AGGRESSIVE VIETNAMESE FROM NORTH AND CENTRAL VIET-NAM TAKEN TOGETHER HAVE ABOUT THE SAME NUMBER OF SEATS AS THE SOUTHERNERS, SOMEWHAT UNDER-REPRESENTING THE SOUTH ON

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A STRICTLY PROPORTIONAL BASIS. THIS TREND IS LIKELY TO CARRY OVER INTO THE NEW HOUSE, SINCE WHERE REGION CAN BE DETERMINED WE SEE 23 LIKELY WINNERS BORN IN NORTH VIET-NAM, 40 IN THE CENTER AND 57 IN THE SOUTH.

24. OUR ANALYSIS SHOWS 53 INCUMBENTS PROBABLY WINNERS, OUT OF 119 RUNNING. (THE LOWER HOUSE CURRENTLY HAS 133 MEMBERS.) ALTHOUGH THIS FIGURE IS STILL A MINORITY OF INCUMBENTS, IT IS SOMEWHAT HIGHER THAN WOULD BE STRICTLY IN ACCORD WITH THE POPULAR VIEW WHICH HOLDS THAT THE CURRENT LOWER HOUSE HAS SUCH A LOW REPUTATION THAT ONLY A FEW INCUMBENTS CAN BE REELECTED.

26. COMMENT: CONTRARY TO WHAT HAD BEEN HOPED EARLIER, IT NOW LOOKS AS IF THE QUALITY OF DEPUTIES IN THE NEW LOWER HOUSE WILL BE LITTLE BETTER THAN IN THE OLD. THE GOVERNMENT APPEARS LIKELY TO GAIN A SUFFICIENTLY LARGE WORKING MAJORITY TO INSURE PASSAGE OF GOVERNMENT-SPONSORED LEGISLATION, BUT THE OPPOSITION WILL PROBABLY BE WELL REPRESENTED.

27. ALTHOUGH HEAVY-HANDED GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION IS SO FAR APPARENT IN ONLY A MINORITY OF CONSTITUENCIES, THE PUBLICITY RESULTING FROM THESE CASES, COUPLED WITH DISSATISFACTION OVER PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION DEVELOPMENTS, HAS CAST A SHOW OVER THE LOWER HOUSE ELECTION. THIS SHADOW WILL DEEPEN IF LARGE-SCALE WITHDRAWALS TAKE PLACE. SO FAR THERE IS NO INDICATION THAT THE GOVERNMENT ROLE IN THE ELECTIONS WILL NECESSARILY EXTEND TO FRAUDULENT PRACTICES ON ELECTION DAY IN THE ACTUAL BALLOTING AND VOTE COUNTING PROCEDURES. WE MUST EXPECT, HOWEVER, WIDESPREAD CLAIMS OF FOUL PLAY FOLLOWING THE ELECTION, WHICH IN SOME AREAS WILL PROBABLY BE JUSTIFIED.

28. NOTE: FOREGOING ANALYSIS IS BASED IN LARGE MEASURE ON PRE-ELECTION REPORTS PROVIDED BY CORDS FIELD ADVISORY TEAMS. WE HAVE LISTED PRECISE FIGURES RESULTING FROM COMPILATIONS OF PROVINCE BY PROVINCE ESTIMATES, AND HAVE NOT SOUGHT TO ROUND OFF THE TOTALS. INDIVIDUAL FIGURES SHOULD THEREFORE BE CONSIDERED INDICATIVE OF ESTIMATED RESULTS RATHER THAN AS EXACT PREDICTIONS.
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